

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 02828 01 OF 02 242133Z

41

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-07 IO-11 USIE-00 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00

INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-05 SAJ-01

OMB-01 DHA-02 SCA-01 OES-03 EPA-01 CEQ-01 ORM-02

JUSE-00 AGR-05 TRSE-00 EB-07 COME-00 CU-02 HEW-02

/104 W

----- 114465

O R 242010Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 375

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

USMISSION GENEVA

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

AMEMBASSY LENINGRAD

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL MUNICH

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 2828

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 02828 01 OF 02 242133Z

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UR, PINT, PGOV

SUBJECT: 25TH CPSU CONGRESS: BREZHNEV SPEECH (CPSU AND SOVIET SOCIETY)

1. SUMMARY. 1. SUMMARY. THE CONCLUDING SEGMENT OF BREZHNEV'S FEBRUARY 24 CC REPORT, WHICH LASTED ABOUT 90 MINUTES, DEALT WITH THE CPSU AND THE DEVELOPING SOVIET SOCIETY. IN DISCUSSING THE PARTY BREZHNEV COVERED INNER-PARTY DEMOCRACY, GAVE UNUSUAL DETAILS OF THE WORK OF THE POLITBURO AND SECRETARIAT, SPOKE AT LENGTH ABOUT CADRE POLICY AND WOUND UP WITH A WARNING ABOUT IDEOLOGICAL DIVERSION. 1972 WAS DESCRIBED AS A PARTICULARLY CRUCIAL YEAR IN BOTH DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY.

2. HIS DISCUSSION OF THE NEW SOCIALIST MAN AND HIS SOCIETY ACCENTED THE POSITIVE. SIMILARLY, THE CREATIVE INTELLIGENTSIA RECEIVED A PAT ON THE BACK FOR HEEDING ADVICE GIVEN THEM BY THE 24TH CONGRESS AND AN ADMONITION FOR OCCASIONALLY GOING ASTRAY IN GRAPPLING WITH PROBLEMS OF SOCIALIST MORALITY. BREZHNEV PROMISED WRITERS AND ARTISTS THAT ANY EFFORT TO SOLVE THEIR PROBLEMS IN LITERATURE AND ART BY FORMAL OR ADMINISTRATIVE METHODS WOULD FIND THE PARTY ON THEIR SIDE. IN PRESENTING HIS LEGISLATIVE AND REFORM PROGRAM, BREZHNEV RECOMMENDED MORE AUTHORITY FOR ELECTIVE SOVIETS, BETTER POLLUTION CONTROL MEASURES, A NEW CODE OF LAWS, HIGHER STANDARDS OF LAW ENFORCEMENT, A CRACKDOWN ON FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE, AND FOR THE FIRST TIME IN MORE THAN A YEAR MENTIONED THE NEW CONSTITUTION. HE REBUTTED CRITICISM OF THE SOVIET RECORD ON CIVIL RIGHTS, PROMISED FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY, AND CONCLUDED WITH A RINGING AFFIRMATION OF FAITH IN THE FUTURE. END SUMMARY

3. BREZHNEV BEGAN HIS DISCUSSION OF THE CPSU BY NOTING THAT SINCE THE LAST CONGRESS 2.6 MILLION NEW MEMBERS HAD JOINED THE PARTY, WHILE 347,000 WERE REMOVED FROM ITS RANKS DURING THE EXCHANGE OF PARTY CARDS. HE EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM AND INNER-PARTY DEMOCRACY, SPECIFICALLY MENTIONING THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE 20TH CONGRESS AS WELL AS THE OCTOBER 1964 CC PLENUM AND THE 23RD AND 24TH CONGRESSES.

4. REGARDING CENTRAL PARTY ORGANS, BREZHNEV SAID THAT THE CENTRAL CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 02828 01 OF 02 242133Z

COMMITTEE HAD MET ELEVEN TIMES DURING THE PERIOD UNDER REVIEW, WHILE THE POLITBURO HELD 215 SESSIONS AND THE SECRETARIAT 205. HE EMPHASIZED THE WIDE SCOPE OF POLITBURO ACTIVITY BY NOTING THAT IT REGULARLY CONSIDERED QUESTIONS OF ECONOMICS, AGRICULTURE, INVESTMENT, MANAGEMENT, LIVING STANDARDS, FOREIGN POLICY AND DEFENSE. THE SECRETARIAT, HE ADDED, DEALT WITH CADRE POLICY AND QUESTIONS OF PARTY ORGANIZATION AND HAD INCREASED ITS CONTROL OVER POLICY IMPLEMENTATION.

5. ON TWO OCCASIONS BREZHNEV REFERRED TO PARTICULARLY DIFFICULT DECISIONS FACING THE PARTY IN 1972. HE MENTIONED THE MAY 1972 CC PLENUM AND THE PROBLEM OF THE FORTHCOMING VISIT OF THE US PRESIDENT WHEN THE VIETNAM WAR WAS IN FULL SWING. "THE SITUATION WAS NOT SIMPLE", BUT "AS THE ENTIRE SUBSEQUENT PERIOD SHOWED, THE DECISIONS (OF THE PLENUM) WERE PRINCIPLED, REALISTIC, AND DETERMINED THE CORRECT COURSE." A BIT LATER HE NOTED 1972 AGRICULTURAL DIFFICULTIES, STRESSING THAT THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE MOUNTED A "STRUGGLE FOR BREAD" AND ACCOMPLISHED WHAT MANY SAID WAS IMPOSSIBLE.

6. ON CADRE POLICY, BREZHNEV STRESSED THE NEED FOR HIGHLY QUALIFIED PARTY LEADERS, SPOKE CRITICALLY OF OVERLY FREQUENT CADRE TURNOVER, BUT SAID THAT NO LEADER SHOULD REMAIN IN OFFICE WHO WAS DIVORCED FROM THE PEOPLE OR HAD LOST THE QUALITY OF SELF-CRITICISM. ON IDEOLOGY, BREZHNEV NOTED THAT RELAXATION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION AIDED THE SPREAD OF MARXIST-LENINIST IDEAS BUT ALSO AFFORDED OPPORTUNITIES TO BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY. HE CALLED FOR VIGILANCE AGAINST IDEOLOGICAL DIVERSION (WITHOUT MENTIONING SPECIFIC IDEOLOGICAL ENEMIES).

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 02828 02 OF 02 242159Z

41  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-07 IO-11 USIE-00 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00

INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-05 SAJ-01

OMB-01 DHA-02 SCA-01 OES-03 EPA-01 CEQ-01 JUSE-00

AGR-05 TRSE-00 EB-07 COME-00 CU-02 HEW-02 ORM-02 /104 W  
----- 114832

O R 242010Z FEB 76  
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 376  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
USMISSION USBERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY LENINGRAD  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMCONSUL MUNICH  
USMISSION NATO  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USLO PEKING  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
USDEL MBFR VIENNA  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 2 OF 2 MOSCOW 2828

7. ON DEVELOPING THE NEW SOCIALIST MAN: BREZHNEV'S DISCUSSION OF  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 02828 02 OF 02 242159Z

THE EMERGING NEW SOCIALIST MAN AND HIS SOCIETY IDENTIFIED  
AMONG THE PLATITUDES SOME NEW TRENDS AND OLD PROBLEMS:

--ENVIRONMENTAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC PROBLEMS OFFER BROAD OPPORTUNITIES  
FOR EXERCISING INITIATIVE, DEVELOPING STATE POLICY, AND EDUCATING  
PUBLIC OPINION;

--CONDITIONS OF DETENTE REQUIRE MORE INTENSIVE IDEOLOGICAL  
WORK AND GREATER VIGILANCE IN REBUFFING HOSTILE IDEOLOGICAL  
DIVERSIONS;

-- EXPERIENCES OF THE L'VOV AND TBILISI GORKOMS REVEALED WEAKNESSES  
IN PATRIOTIC AND INTERNATIONALIST UPBRINGING OF CADRES INVOLVING  
CHAUVINIST NATIONALISM AND LOCALISM (MESTNICHESTVO):

-- IN EDUCATION, THERE MUST BE GREATER STRESS ON DEVELOPING  
ABILITY TO THINK CREATIVELY, RATHER THAN MERELY ACCUMULATING  
FACTUAL KNOWLEDGE;

-- DISCREPANCY BETWEEN WORD AND DEED LEADS TO PETTY BOURGEOIS  
RECIDIVISM, HOOLIGANISM, ACQUISITIVENESS, AND OTHER DEVIATIONS  
FROM SOCIALIST NORMS OF BEHAVIOR.

8. ON LITERATURE AND ART: BREZHNEV GENERALLY PRAISED THE RESULTS  
OF IMPLEMENTING THE RECOMMENDATIONS MADE BY THE 24TH CONGRESS IN  
THE FIELDS OF LITERATURE AND ART, PARTICULARLY IN ADVISING BROADER  
USE OF SOCIALIST AND PATRIOTIC LITERARY THEMES: OF WORKERS AS

LITERARY HEROES, IN THE LITERARY TREATMENT OF PRODUCTION PROCESSES; AND IN DESCRIBING THE PEOPLES' ORDEAL IN WORLD WAR II FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE YOUNG. HE ALSO NOTED SOLID ACHIEVEMENTS IN TREATING THE SUBJECT OF SOCIALIST MORALITY, IN SPITE OF OCCASIONAL EXCESSES AND DEVIATIONS. BREZHNEV WARNED AGAINST ATTEMPTS TO SOLVE PROBLEMS IN LITERATURE AND ART THROUGH FORMAL APPROACHES AND ADMINISTRATIVE METHODS, DESCRIBING THE PARTY AS EVER ALERT IN PREVENTING SUCH ERRORS. THE CREATIVE TALENTED INTELLIGENTSIA, IN HIS VIEW, CONSTITUTES A VALUABLE RESOURCE DESERVING EVERY SUPPORT AND ENCOURAGEMENT.

9. ON LAW, LEGISLATION, AND CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM: BREZHNEV SUBMITTED A LIST OF LEGISLATIVE RECOMMENDATIONS AND REFORMS NOTEWORTHY FOR SUBSTANTIVE PROMISE OF INNOVATION:

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 02828 02 OF 02 242159Z

-- FURTHER STEPS TO BROADEN THE AUTHORITY OF SOVIETS AND PRESTIGE OF ELECTED DEPUTIES (BUILDING ON HIS POSITIVE ASSESSMENT OF LEGISLATION PASSED EARLIER ON RECOMMENDATION OF THE 24TH CONGRESS);

-- LEGISLATION TO MEET NEW REQUIREMENTS IN THE FIELDS OF POLLUTION CONTROL, ECOLOGY, AND PROTECTION OF THE ENVIRONMENT;

-- PUBLICATION OF A NEW CODE OF LAWS (SVOD ZAKONOV), DESCRIBED BY BREZHNEV AS A PRESSING NEED;

-- FURTHER STEPS TO RAISE STANDARDS OF JUSTICE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT;

-- MORE ENERGETIC ACTION AGAINST HOSTILE INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (BREZHNEV PARISED "OUR CHEKISTS" FOR UPHOLDING DZERZHINSKIY'S TRADITIONS)

10. FINALLY, BREZHNEV REVIVED THE LONG-DORMANT PROJECT OF CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM BY ACKNOWLEDGING THE NEED FOR A NEW CONSTITUTION. HOWEVER, HE DESCRIBED WORK ON CONSTITUTION AS PROCEEDING WITH DELIBERATE CARE AND DID NOT INDICATE WHEN IT WOULD BE COMPLETED. THE NEW DOCUMENT MUST REFLECT REALITY OF MATURE SOCIALIST SOCIETY; ESTABLISH ESSENTIAL PRINCIPLES OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY; DEFINE THE ROLE OF THE STATE IN SPIRITUAL LIFE AND DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURE; AND PROVIDE FOR THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF A HUMANE SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY PROVIDING GREATER PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY AND PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC LIFE.

11. ON SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY: BREZHNEV REBUTTED ATTACKS BY OUTSIDE CRITICS ON ALLEGED SOVIET VIOLATIONS OF DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS. IN BRIEF BUT BLUNT LANGUAGE. EMPHASIZING DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF CITIZENS, HE REJECTED AS HARMFUL ANY ACTION TENDING TO WEAKEN A SOCIALIST SOCIETY, ALTHOUGH AFFIRMING IN THE END THE CPSU'S COMMITMENT TO FURTHER PERFECTION OF SOCIALIST

DEMOCRACY.

12. AHEAD: 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF OCTOBER REVOLUTION: LOOKING FORWARD TO THE OPPORTUNITY OF CELEBRATING A NEW ANNIVERSARY, BREZHNEV HAILED THE ACHIEVEMENT BY THE USSR OF A CRISIS-FREE, CONSTANTLY DEVELOPING SOCIETY. HE CONCLUDED WITH RINGING AFFIRMATION OF FAITH IN THE FUTURE, IN THE PERFECTABILITY OF THE NEW

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 MOSCOW 02828 02 OF 02 242159Z

SOVIET MAN, IN THE ABILITY OF SOCIALISM TO PROVIDE A FULLER, RICHER LIFE; AND IN THE ENDURING, SELF-RENEWING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE.

13. COMMENT. BREZHNEV'S DISCUSSION OF POLITBURO AND SECRETARIAT ACTIVITIES GAVE GREATER EMPHASIS TO THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THESE INSTITUTIONS THAN WAS DONE AT THE 24TH CONGRESS. THIS EMPHASIS APPEARS TO REFLECT THE GREATER PUBLIC ROLE THESE BODIES HAVE ASSUMED SINCE 1971 AND MAY IMPLY A DOWNGRADING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S ROLE.

14. THE GENERAL SECRETARY'S REFERENCE TO THE MAY 1972 CC PLENUM STRONGLY SUGGESTS THE EXISTENCE OF DEBATE WITH THE POLITBURO AT THAT TIME OVER DETENTE AND THE MINING OF NORTH VIETNAMESE PORTS. THIS IN TURN GIVES CREDENCE TO THE THEORY THAT SHELEST'S OUSTER AS UKRAINIAN CP FIRST SECRETARY A FEW DAYS LATER STEMMED AT LEAST IN PART FROM HIS OPPOSITION TO BREZHNEV'S DETENTE POLICY.

15. BREZHNEV CLEARLY INTENDED TO TAKE "THE HIGH ROAD" IN THIS SECTION OF HIS REPORT -- STRESSING THE MORAL AND EDUCATIONAL DUTIES OF THE PARTY. THERE IS THUS LITTLE IN THE WAY OF HINTS IN THE SPEECH AS TO FUTURE TREATMENT OF DISSIDENT ELEMENTS. IN ANY CASE, WE WILL BE FOLLOWING UP TO OBTAIN REACTION FROM OUR LOCAL CONTACTS AND WILL REPORT THEIR IMPRESSIONS.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptoning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** COMMUNISTS, PARTY MEETINGS, SPEECHES, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, SOCIAL CUSTOMS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 24 FEB 1976  
**Decapton Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decapton Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** saccheem  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976MOSCOW02828  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D760069-0580  
**From:** MOSCOW  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19760220/aaaaaqom.tel  
**Line Count:** 315  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 6  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** saccheem  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 30 MAR 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <30 MAR 2004 by CollinP0>; APPROVED <27 JUL 2004 by saccheem>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** 25TH CPSU CONGRESS: BREZHNEV SPEECH (CPSU AND SOVIET SOCIETY)  
**TAGS:** PFOR, SOCI, UR, (BREZHNEV, LEONID I)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006